

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

The Blitzkreig Should Remind You

that there are other, less spectacular struggles going on. This paper's struggle to keep going, for example. We, too, have had to make a big raid—into our Fighting Fund. We have had to spend most of it to secure certain printing equipment we badly need. The Fund is therefore sadly depleted, and needs support without delay. To put us on our feet, in fact,

We Need One Shilling Per Reader

so let's hear from you this weekend. And if you can send more than a shilling, please do so; it will make up for those who simply can't afford it.

THE INFAMY OF THE FOOD BLOCKADE

IT is strange and ominous how successful the Government and the press have been in creating confusion in men's minds on the subject of the food-blockade of Europe. We talk—the Government talks—as though the fact of the matter were that we were regretfully compelled to prevent food supplies entering the occupied territories because Germany would use them for her own purposes. Granted the legitimacy of blockade as a war-method the decision sounds almost reasonable.

In order to maintain this appearance of reasonableness, the essential points of Mr. Hoover's proposal have been carefully concealed. To our knowledge, only *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* have divulged them to their readers. They are that "Germany should agree to take none of the domestic produce of the occupied countries; to furnish an equivalent of any food already taken; and to permit adequate control of distribution by an organization so as to enable it to assure that those guarantees are carried out."

The first of those conditions does not seem to us very practicable. The German army of occupation in Bordeaux can hardly be expected to import its vegetables from Germany. But that is not the point. The point is that Mr. Hoover definitely proposed the establishment of a neutral distribution organization to guarantee that the food-supplies should not be utilized by Germany. To represent, as we do, that we dare not allow food-stuffs to be imported into the occupied territories because Germany would take advantage of them is deliberately to ignore the nature of Mr. Hoover's proposals. We cannot trust Hitler, we

say. Mr. Hoover has never asked us to. He said: Trust me. Let me set up an organization that will ensure that the food supplied to the occupied countries is used by them alone.

That we should encourage such a scheme as Mr. Hoover's is the acid test of the sincerity of our contention that we are reluctantly compelled to deprive the occupied territories of their supplies of imported food-stuffs. The smothering of the Hoover proposals indicates very plainly that the food-blockade of the neutrals and our former friends is an integral part of our food-blockade of Germany. We intend, if we can, to produce a condition of famine in the occupied countries in order that Germany shall be compelled to feed them from her own food-supplies. The more shameless of our newspapers, and our MPs, make no bones about it. The Government is more careful. There are certain things which might not go down in America. And this is surely one of them.

For what does this police of enforcing a food-blockade on Germany, by enforcing a food-blockade on the occupied territories amount to? What does it mean in fact? It means that we are reckoning on Germany being

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A Question from Wilfred Wellock: Where Stands Britain?

ONE of the saddest facts about the present situation is the widespread assumption that the overthrow of Hitler will be the prelude to the creation of a really democratic and peaceful Europe.

Every conceivable agency and device has been used to convince people that the cause of the present conflagration is an upstart Austrian, Hitler. A broad survey of the facts, however, proves conclusively that Hitler is the demon of the storm which capitalism has brought upon the world, the product of wrongs which none saw fit to right, and which persisted and multiplied through many decades.

Europe is in turmoil today because it lacks the vision necessary to build a great European democracy free and equal from end to end.

Thirty years ago socialists foresaw this age of social decadence, and were clear as to its cause and cure. Now, when it has arrived, they are putting all the blame on a tempestuous personality, to destroy whom they are ready to sacrifice millions of lives and untold wealth, while ignoring the social wrongs and the social disease which produced him.

Unless an early awakening takes place and a bold attempt be made to plan, proclaim, and take the first steps toward a convincing alternative to Hitler's Europe, we shall one day discover that hard necessity has been made the excuse to carry the totalitarian mechanism of war into the peace that follows, even in Britain. Precisely the same necessity which led to imperialism, monopoly and world war, is now leading to world totalitarianism at an astonishingly rapid rate. That necessity is the inviolability of a class-dominated civilization, the divine right of a privileged class to rule.

We thus see that the factory system, founded on the sacred right of employers to make profit, reaches its logical conclusion in the robotism of the totalitarian State. The worker thus becomes the soul-less tool of a soul-less regime.

When the first factory was built in which steam engines, spinning mules and power-looms were installed, and rich masters stood at the head of a

multitude of "hands" whom they bade to come and go at pleasure, the foundation of the Fascist State was laid. The totalitarian Europe now taking shape is its logical outcome. Nothing short of a spiritual transformation can arrest its growth.

There will be many varieties of totalitarian rule, just as there are many types of democracy, and no doubt modifications will be enforced, but here I am only concerned with the main trend.

It therefore follows that if democracy is to be preserved and extended early action is necessary. Such action must include forthright measures to end class privilege and to create an equal society, a society which places supreme emphasis upon human personality, in the knowledge that the highest values exist in or derive from human relationships, the inspiration of which is creative service.

Which Course?

The question therefore arises: which course will Britain take? Will she follow the line of "necessity" which leads to totalitarianism, or the line of courage, sacrifice, and vision which leads to complete and unrestricted democracy? If it be true that we are making for a new Europe, free and democratic, where are the signs that the British possessing classes are prepared to forego their privileged position, which must be the first step to the promised goal? In other words, what is Britain's alternative to a Nazi Europe?

Frankly, I do not know, nor do I see the signs of the promised new world for which people of this and every country in Europe are looking. Hence I am left with the fear that we too shall be hurled into a fierce social conflict when this war is ended, the outcome of which will be Fascism or Communism.

We talk easily about starving Germany into defeat. But the starvation of Germany involves the more intensive starvation of many countries who would be our friends, and who may not be willing to pay that price for a future that is wholly lacking in promise. Indeed, from such a situation there may well emerge a rising in which many long-standing grievances will find vent in what may develop into a rabid class massacre. The fierce ferment of such a rising would have far-reaching repercussions.

The most critical hour in world history is upon us. Its approach offers Britain its last chance of saving democracy and what there is in capitalistic civilization that is worth saving. If that chance be lost, devastation will spread, liberty wane, and civilization decay in the welter of totalitarian war and revolution.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the preservation of democracy will not be guaranteed by Britain winning this war. To ensure that end Britain must win the greater victory of saving her soul by offering her own people the true socialism of a classless society, and to the people of Europe the sacrifices whereby such a society may be their heritage also.

Thus might the war be timely ended. Where there is no vision the people perish.

'WE DIDN'T KNOW'

THE following extract from an account in *The New Yorker* of life in occupied Poland was quoted by William Hickey in the *Daily Express* recently:

"The wife of a Polish professor in Cracow, to whom the Gestapo had given half-an-hour's notice to leave her apartment, went back the next morning to pick up her children's clothing. A German family had already moved in. Timidly, she explained to the woman who opened the door what she wanted. 'Everything here belongs to me,' the German woman told her.

"'It belonged to me until yesterday afternoon,' explained the professor's wife.

"'But we paid for all this in Berlin.'

"'I did not get any money,' the professor's wife said quietly. 'I was told to leave the key in the door and go.'

"'They looked at each other for a moment without speaking. The German woman started to cry. 'We didn't know,' she said. 'Come in. Take what you need.'"



BILLETS FOR TWO.

—from "Dublin Opinion," September

A Pacifist Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

THE exchange of 99-year leases of various strategic points in British possessions in the West Atlantic for "obsolete" American destroyers is the main theme of the press this week: and a subject for much congratulation. The pacifist is more critical. One small cause for satisfaction that he can find in the new development is the evidence that, when it comes to a pinch, questions of sovereignty can be very easily set aside. Another, more important but more speculative, is that the tightening of the bond between Britain and USA may be the means of bringing this insensate warfare to an end.

If the moment comes for a "bargain" with Hitler—and what is the real alternative save a long-drawn agony of mutual destruction?—it is far better than the weight of the USA should be thrown into the scale on our side of the bargain. There is indeed a moral obligation on the USA who will "help us in every way short of war" to help us to end the war itself. Financing and supplying Britain to fight on to the point of material and spiritual exhaustion is a policy that can hardly commend itself to realistic statesmanship in America—or Britain.

Methods of Air Warfare

THE extreme air-warfare which we imagined would be unleashed on London at the outbreak of war has come upon us with a vengeance. It is being said that the German bombing of London is indiscriminate, whereas our bombing of Berlin is confined to military objectives.

Personally, I find this pretention to moral superiority painful, both to my sense of candour and my intelligence. I was fairly intimately involved in Sunday night's affair; and it was quite clear to me that the enemy were aiming at a very important military objective. They did not hit it, and perforce they hit other things instead. How many bombs dropped from a great height by either side do hit their objectives? That there is a distinction between our air-methods and those of Germany I do believe. I do not believe that our air-force would have been guilty of the appalling massacre of Rotterdam.

But it is a matter of commonsense that the bombing of military objectives in a great city must always involve indiscriminate destruction. To pretend that our destruction is discriminate, whereas the German is not, is itself destructive of something even more important than life—our moral integrity.

Taking It Calmly

I LIKE better to think of the behaviour of the average Londoner under the ordeal. I like to remember the voice of my landlady who happened to be telephoning when a big and nasty one dropped near by. "Bomb!" she said, just as though she were saying that the front door had slammed.

True, she confided next morning that a former client had taken her to dinner at Prince's and that she was feeling on top of the world. That is one method, if you find someone to take you to Prince's. Other methods are to relax scientifically, to become a fatalist, to make up your mind it won't be a long business one way or the other.

Quite a good one is to persuade yourself it is all a dream, as possibly it may prove to be, and as Shakespeare seems to have believed at the end; and that you will wake up to the dawn on a new world, in which the humanity of men and women has not been perverted into inhumanity by the ignorance that is enforced upon them.

Shocked Into Thought?

"IT makes you think", said a man on top of a bus. He was explaining to his neighbour that he got back home at seven in the morning to find his house wasn't there.

He was a forlorn and bewildered figure: the little man who, in D. H. Lawrence's words, had been "intolerably let down". And I wondered.

If indeed it was making him think, and millions of others like him, then all might yet be well. After trial and tribulation, no doubt. But who is helping him to think?

IS ANGLO-AMERICAN DEAL A PORTENT?

NOT Bishop Hensley Henson, at any rate. "If then we shall be asked whether indeed we may pray for victory, we cannot but reply with the challenge—what else can we pray for? What else have we in mind when in this desperate hour we repeat the hallowed petitions, 'Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven'?"

The Kingdom of God enforced by a food-blockade of your former friends is an effort of Christian imagination beyond my compass. "Crusaders (the Bishop goes on) we know but too well may so discredit their sacred cause as to transform their crusade into a hideous travesty, and then, so the dark records of history declare, the measure of their moral degradation is determined by the moral altitude from which they have fallen." Has that not happened already? And is it not the plain duty of the Church of Christ to make clear that it has happened?

Facts About France

LET me recommend to my readers an illuminating article by Mr. Horsfall Carter, "France in Reverse", in the current *Fortnightly Review*.

A great deal of rather malignant nonsense is talked about the Vichy Government in the British press—which I expected; and it seems to have had its effect on pacifists—which I did not expect. Pacifists should be on their guard against political superstitions of the Left. The simple fact is that I, who have known France fairly well since 1911, have never met a single intellectual who was not disgusted with the parliamentary régime. What was politically minded in the French intelligentsia was moving more and more towards a combination of principles of which Charles Péguy was once the lonely champion—national, socialist, and Catholic. Of this attitude Georges Bernanos has been the most forceful champion in these latter days. The mention of the name—and Péguy's—will make it clear that this movement is not to be associated with the doings of the "Christian General" in Spain. No more scathing indictment of these doings was ever written than that of Bernanos.

"The fact is," as Mr. Horsfall Carter says, "that for the time being in France, whether we like it or not, the word 'parliament' or 'Democracy' is a Jonah."

In the Melting-Pot

NOW, the odd thing about France (as Mr. T. S. Eliot has emphasized in a recent *Christian News-Letter*) is that the peasantry have on the whole, and particularly in the South-west, been inclined not to Catholicism but to secular rationalism. That is due to the fact that their charter of liberty was the French Revolution. The peasantry was indeed the most solid support of the parliamentary régime. And probably we should not go far wrong if we suppose that M. Laval represents them in the Vichy Government.

That Government is not a homogeneous combination; but it is a great deal more representative of France than we pretend. And even M. Laval had a great deal more excuse for his pro-Italian policy than it suits the bad conscience of Britain to admit.

But the real problem is to discern what the spirit and the institutions of the new France will be. That there will be a "new France" is, to me indubitable; it is equally certain that it will not be a mere satellite of Germany. Nor will its social order be simply another form of Fascism. People need to understand that the political and social institutions of Europe are in the melting-pot—universally: in Britain as much as elsewhere.

Possibly, British democracy will weather the storm; but it will be by becoming a new kind of democracy in the process. And unless the new Britain is prepared to understand the new France, it will be a poor look-out for humanity. The fatal curse on British "statesmanship" has been its spiritual isolationism—its inability to think the European thought. The danger is very great that, under Mr. Winston Churchill (whose contempt for the foreigner is manifest in his pronunciation) and an unpardonable blockade policy, we shall relapse into a still more vicious form of isolationism. Professing to liberate Europe, we shall condemn it and ourselves to the worst of totalitarianism.

WHILE I am on the subject of France, let me return to last week's quotation from Mr. Pirow, with its contention that for South Africa France was the enemy because she treated white and black on equality.

The *Evening Standard* of September 3 contained a picture of M. Eboué, Governor-General of the Chad. M. Eboué is a full negro; previously he had been Lieutenant-Governor of the French Sudan, and Governor-General of Guadeloupe, where he loyally co-operated with M. Blum's government in introducing labour reforms in the sugar estates; and, for his pains was banished by the next government to Chad. But my point is this. What other "civilized" country save France has proved itself capable of treating the negro as an equal? Have we ever thought of making a negro Governor of Jamaica? And until we do, what is the sense of speaking of ourselves as a Christian nation?

The Roman Empire made no distinction between its citizens: negroes became Roman consuls. In this vital matter of human brotherhood, Christianity has marked a vast retrogression. And I believe that the superior civilization of France in this matter will not be forgotten. The black races of the world will look to France. We protest against the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority; but in practice we follow it.

Culture's "Cash Value"

THE exclusion of books from the operation of the new purchase tax was obtained, after much agitation, only on the ground that the export of books was an important part of our export trade; and that the export trade in books depended for its existence on the maintenance of the home trade. Actually, the export trade in books amounts to some £4 millions a year.

According to Mr. Geoffrey Faber, the president of the Publishers' Association, the continuation of the concession depends upon the publishers being able to show that the export trade is maintained; and the publishers have now to make periodical returns to the Board of Trade to prove this. Moreover, the book trade was threatened with a virtual stoppage of its supply of paper by the Government, which has been temporarily averted on the same grounds.

It is eloquent of the effect of total war on the creative activities of a nation.

Lord Ponsonby on War Aims
IMPORTANT PLEA TO THE GOVERNMENT

Following are extracts from an important speech by Lord Ponsonby in the House of Lords on August 20.

MY Lords, since the war began I have not intervened in your Lordships' House in any debate upon policy or upon the technical questions that arise out of the war, and if I intervene today it is because I consider that this is a very grave moment, in which we should take stock of the situation.

I was struck at the time of the declaration of war by the fact that the Government of that day declared that they were fighting against aggression and for the overthrowing of what is described as "Hitlerism".

I should like to say emphatically, so as to make my position perfectly clear and to free myself from any suspicion of being what is usually referred to as a "Fifth Columnist", that no-one could have detested the Nazi regime more than I did, with its cruel oppression of Jews, Catholics, Lutherans, Socialists, and many other sections of German opinion.

Lord STRABOLGI: And pacifists, too.

Lord PONSONBY: And pacifists, too; all those have suffered under this abominable régime.

But I believed then—and I do not think wrongly—that there was one method of getting rid of a Government of that kind, and that was the method that alone could be adopted by the German people themselves. It might

take time, but they would do it definitely and finally, as other countries have done it to dictators in the past.

Instead of that, the Government took the one course which I foresaw at the time would strengthen Hitler; they declared war on Germany. That gave him the opportunity to rally his fellow-countrymen, to exercise that almost uncanny influence that he has over the minds of the German people, and which was ebbing at the time, and to make them come to the defence of their Fatherland. I did not at the time, however, expect that it would strengthen him so enormously and so quickly. . . .

Never at Grips

We never really get to grips with our larger policy. Our aims as they were originally have had to be changed.

Aggression is no longer mentioned because of Russia and her exploits in Finland, and because of Japan; we do not want to offend Japan too much—although we may hear more of Japan in the case of Indo-China. Now a rigid return to the status quo before the rise of Hitler cannot be wisely laid down as a war aim, nor can the demands in Eastern Europe which, it must be remembered, were originally pressed forward by the French Government before the war.

The series of events, when we look

back upon them, does not give us any confidence in this or the former Government. We sighed over Austria, we cried over Czecho-Slovakia, and we lied over Poland by telling the Poles that we would help them, when the latest-joined subaltern knew we could do nothing of the kind. Then it came to Russian aggression in Finland: we applauded the Finns, but we could do nothing for them.

I need not go on through the list—for example the terrible catastrophe in Norway, for which the fighting forces were not responsible. The time must come when concessions as well as demands are more likely to lead to a settlement which shall be lasting. If there are to be no concessions but only demands, because the crushing defeat of Germany is solely contemplated in order to safeguard democracy, let us consider for a moment what this must involve.

I apologize for taking this critical line and not joining in the general chorus, which is always a little vague, but your Lordships will grant me the indulgence, I know, of allowing me to say what I think is helpful in the long run, rather than concentrating on the successes of the moment, which cannot be attributed to the Government, but can be fully attributed to our fighting forces.

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I THINK I am right in saying that air warfare, with all its features of alarm and destruction, cannot by itself achieve a decisive military culmination. The invasion and occupation of our island by a German Army is proving to

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Infamy of Blockade

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less blackguardly than ourselves. The Briton and the Nazi stand on either side of a starving child, each holding a parcel of food behind his back. The one who first allows himself to be moved by a feeling of communion is to be defeated in this war for the Christian values. If the Nazi is the first to be overcome by compassion, the Briton will have triumphed; civilization will have been saved, and Christianity victorious.

Depths of Inhumanity

The moral degradation of that is unspeakable. Unless we have the serious intention of being more coldly brutal than the Nazis, there is no sense in the policy at all. Its "success" depends upon this. Starvation of your enemies is bad enough; but this starvation of your friends in order that your enemy may starve himself by feeding them is worse by a whole dimension of infamy. It touches a nadir of inhumanity. If, while doing this, we dare to talk of Nazi brutality, we shall stand condemned of a final and unforgivable hypocrisy.

But it is not merely inhuman; it is a political blunder of the first magnitude. A mortal enemy of Britain could conceive no more effective way of consolidating Europe in detestation of this country and of fostering the determination that sea-power shall be taken from a nation unworthy to exercise it. The idea that the starving neutrals will rise in revolt against Germany is a sinister fantasy. If it comes to starvation, the neutrals will simply hate us with a righteous hatred. And Herr Hitler will not fail to improve the occasion. He will appear as the champion of Europe against our cold and brutal selfishness. What information there is goes to show that the Germans are treating the inhabitants of the occupied countries, in the West anyhow, with marked consideration. One hard winter would be enough to convince them, for ever, that Hitlerism was preferable to British methods of liberation.

The truth concerning the nature and the consequences of our policy is concealed from the average Briton. Whatever his shortcomings may be, he has an instinct for fair-play. This instinct of his is being violated without his knowledge. It is our duty to open his eyes to what is being done in his name.

Facts and Figures

Blockade Means Starving Babies

A REALISTIC picture of the effects of Britain's naval blockade during the last war is given in Mr. Arthur Bryant's book, *Unfinished Victory*, from one chapter of which (headed "Famine over Europe") the following extracts are taken:

"In the last two years of the war, nearly 800,000 non-combatants died in Germany from starvation or diseases directly attributed to under-nourishment—about fifty times more than were drowned by submarine attacks on British shipping. The biggest mortality was among children between the ages of five and fifteen, where the death-rate increased by 55 per cent....

"The whole of central Europe, comprising 150 millions, was sick, physically and spiritually. The average weight of the urban population sank by 20 per cent. Tuberculosis, phthisis, dysentery, intestinal catarrh and other diseases caused or aggravated by under-nourishment were rampant; at Nuremberg after the war 50 per cent. of the children had T.B. The hospitals, suffering as they were from the universal want, could do little. There was no camphor, no glycerine, and no cod-liver oil. Worse, there was no food....

"The heaviest weight of the blockade fell on nursing mothers; the incidence of puerperal fever doubled. Owing to the lack of feeding stuffs for the cattle, milk was not only scarce but of the poorest quality.... Children born during the latter part of the blockade averaged only four or five pounds in weight. In Bohemia in February 1919, 20 per cent. of the babies were born dead and 40 per cent. were dying within the first month of birth. A visitor to a Cologne hospital in the same year reported boys and girls of six years with tiny shrivelled bodies covered with queer, inelastic skin that could be moved about in folds or smoothed flat, soft skulls that yielded to pressure, and bones so soft that they could be bent by the touch....

"A whole generation grew up in an epoch of under-nourishment and misery such as we have never in this country experienced.... It makes intelligible much that is otherwise unaccountable in Nazi Germany—the hysteria, the emotionalism and whole nation physically, mentally and morally prostrate for years without its producing a dangerous effect." (Note: "Unfinished Victory" was published by Macmillan this year.)

THE TASK OF THE PACIFIST WRITER NOW

Last week we published a letter from Mr. J. D. Beresford in which he candidly expounded his reasons for declining the Editor's invitation to contribute articles to Peace News. In the following letter the Editor has answered Mr. Beresford "with equal candour."

I DO not believe that the function of contributors to a pacifist journal in war-time is to repeat "the unanswerable arguments against war." The war is here—a proof that the arguments do not prevail. And those who propounded them with the greatest skill are now to be found among the advocates of war—a proof that the renunciation of war is not decided by these arguments at all.

The task of the pacifist writer in war is assuredly not to go on repeating them. It is quite different. It has two aspects. The first is directed towards the movement itself. It is to kindle and try to keep alive the spark of imagination, to resist the continuous moral deterioration which war engenders, and to foster the spirit of brotherhood among all those who are struggling to keep themselves immune from the contagion of brutality.

There are some (I do not doubt) who have acquired the spiritual strength to stand firm in isolation. But have these no duty towards their fellows? I cannot believe it. Indeed I know that *Peace News*, even as it is, though I hoped to improve it by your collaboration, is a source of strength to thousands of pacifists.

That "no-one can be a true pacifist until he has found peace within himself", I also believe; many pacifists are learning the truth of it today. But when you go on to equate this with "loving God with all his heart and mind and strength", I hesitate. Not because I do not believe it; but because "loving God" is a language which is not spoken by many of the sincerest pacifists today. They ask: "What does it mean?" And if I were to tell them what I meant by it, it might or might not be convincing to them; but they would certainly say: "That is not what most people who speak of loving God mean by the words." Nor could I deny it.

FOR what I mean by "loving God", though it would take a book to explain it all, is a humble and willing obedience to the necessities of a total situation as discerned and experienced by the imagination of a selfless man.

I know the selfless man does not exist; he is selfless only for the moment that he is the vehicle and instrument of imagination. But what I am sure of is this: that thousands of pacifists know this condition in non-religious terms. Thousands of them are humble followers after peace, patient doers of the deeds of peace, stubborn wrestlers with the demon of self-righteousness, seekers of purity of heart none the less eager because they know they can never attain it. And I am sure that these are known in eternity as the sons of God, though they have never called upon their Father by name.

I say we have a duty towards these. That duty is to speak the deepest truth we know as comprehensively as we can: to bring the light of imagination to bear on the situation of every day, to take the responsibility of discerning the good from the evil even in the very vortex of political relativities, to convert necessities into opportunities.

Civil Service Pacifists

Inaugurated last October to provide mutual assistance and fellowship for all civil servants who oppose war, the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship is now in contact with more than 720 civil servants.

The number of civil service COs mentioned in our August 30 issue (273) included, of course, only those registered as such by tribunals. Even the membership of the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship represents only a minority of the pacifists in the Civil Service.

Any who are not already in touch with the fellowship should write to the secretary, Mr. D. H. Brims, 239, Northumberland Avenue, Welling, Kent.

THAT brings me to the second aspect of the pacifist task in war-time, which is to give a deeper and truer interpretation of events than that which finds all the evil on the other side and all the good on our own.

I am, by reason of my position, perhaps more painfully conscious even than you of the inordinate difficulties, the quagmires and pitfalls, of the twilight ground where pacifism merges into politics; nevertheless, we cannot avoid that ground. Though I think that even now some pacifists are inclined to political illusionism, and to the mistaken belief that pacifism is, or has, a policy which can bring enduring peace to men as they are, still I am convinced that in the worst human situation there is a positive work to be done for peace. Pacifism has its politics; it is the converse of the politics of the politician, for the politics of pacifism is educating men out of illusion into reality. I verily believe that

There is a soul of goodness in things evil,

Could we observingly distil it out. No matter how inadequate we may be to that prophetic function, we pacifists must try to fulfil it as best we can.

AND I cannot agree with the position you appear to take in your letter: that condemnation of war-mongers is incompatible with charity towards them.

I do not like the word, "war-mongers". There may be a few such; but the great majority of those who prosecute and participate in war are

J. MIDDLETON MURRY replies to J. D. BERESFORD

ignorant, not wicked men. They do not understand how the "peaceful" activities of a capitalist society drive irresistibly toward total war. They cannot mentally dissociate themselves from those activities: they cannot stand apart from them and judge them and their consequences.

Here, I believe, the pacifist movement has a great work of education to do in the midst of war. Ideally, this work should be done by the Christian Church, whose spiritual mission it is to stand apart from the blind processes of human society. The Christian Church has refused the work. It falls to pacifists to do it.

That our resources are feeble, that our work is restricted to a minimum by the operations of a capitalist society at war, that every effort we make toward spreading the truth is represented as working for the enemy—these things are inevitable. It is inherent in the situation that we should become a kind of outlaws from a society whose processes are consummated in a total submission to war and death.

But that, as I see it, is only the stronger reason why we should not accept our outlawry, or convert it into religious resignation. Now, as never before, pacifists belong to society, because now, as never before, peace is essential to any kind of humane existence in society.

P.P.U. ACTIVITIES

Wanted: MEN!

By JOHN BARCLAY

(P.P.U. Groups Organiser)

It is no longer possible to doubt that we are living in a mad world. As horror succeeds horror, the imagination shudders at the possibilities of violence still unleashed. It seems that it is not enough to separate families all over the world, to bomb them and blow the house and family to smithereens; but that man must continue his work of artistic-destruction by destroying pity, mercy and love as well. A cold-blooded, senseless orgy of destruction, almost childish in its irresponsibility, is going on between great nations bombing each other mercilessly, and no man great enough to cry "Stop!" Yet stop it must by some means, or else we must be prepared to accept Hell on Earth.

After a night made hideous by war, with bombs dropping over a wide area of London for ten hours, I spent last Sunday at Banbury, meeting members from 9 groups. Knowing the difficulties of travel these days and also the effect of sleepless nights on hard working folk, I anticipated a gathering of forty. It was thrilling to find over 100 gathered in the Friends Meeting House, some having cycled 25 to 30 miles to get there. We started off with dinner at one o'clock—and how good it was! The Banbury group were responsible for the arrangements and I take my hat off to Raymond Alcock for his work in organizing the whole day. It was an inspiration to be amongst such a group, mostly men and women under thirty, and many of them COs already feeling the pinch of unemployment. We discussed the position of pacifists in war time and the work of regional organisation at afternoon and evening sessions. Members were present from the following groups:—

Birmingham, Banbury, Coventry, Chipping Norton, Chipston on Stow, Northampton, Oxford, Reading and Rugby.

Fellowship is a real power and when it generates such a spirit as was at this rally, there is nothing very wrong with the pacifist movement. Everything is possible with such men and women. The future is ours if we can but keep our faith.

NORTH MIDLANDS CONFERENCE

A review of the position of pacifism after one year of war will form the subject of a weekend conference which the North Midlands PPU Region has arranged to hold at Longshaw Lodge, Longshaw, Derbyshire, on September 28 and 29.

Wilfred Wellock will address the Saturday sessions on "The International Outlook" and "The National Outlook"; on Sunday morning Leighton Yates will discuss "Problems of the Conscientious Objector"; and in the evening Frank Dawtry will suggest "The Positive Contribution of the Pacifist." The charge for the weekend will be 9s. 6d.

Full particulars may be had from the conference secretary, The Dick Sheppard Centre, 30a Change Alley, Sheffield 1.

ASHBURTON COMMUNITY

A newly established community for conscientious objectors desiring to do land work occupies an eighteenth century house at Saint-Bridget, West Street, Ashburton, Devon, and six acres of land in the neighbourhood are being prepared for market gardening.

There is accommodation for ten COs, including two married couples, and it is hoped that they will be able to support themselves in six months or a year. The cost averages 15s. a week for each person, but they cannot take on their full complement of COs until some further financial backing is assured.

There is also urgent need of carpeting, seating, blankets, and other household requirements.

Tragedy In Pacifist Home

Mr. H. F. Marfleet, a keen South-east London member of the Peace Pledge Union, suffered a triple tragedy in the early hours of Friday morning when his house was demolished and his two sisters and another woman, sleeping in the ground-floor back room, were killed instantly. Mr. Marfleet and his mother, who were sleeping in the front of the house, escaped. The family have been earnest peace-workers for many years and one of the sisters was an official of a local League of Women Helpers branch.

The funeral was on Tuesday afternoon.

Acknowledgement

The Treasurer of the Peace Pledge Union gratefully acknowledges the receipt of a donation of £1 from "M".

Team-Work Tells

By John W. Cowling

STRESSING the need for more helpers in the twin tasks of re-creating our distribution system and increasing our circulation, I pointed out recently that this was essentially a case where "many hands make light work."

The following report, by Alban Little on behalf of the group covering the Leytonstone, and Wanstead districts of London, shows how true that is. I commend it to the attention of members everywhere as an example of what can be done.

"The sale of *Peace News* in our area is, with certain other activities, the work of a small sub-committee appointed by the group executive, which has power to co-opt any friends willing to help. Our policy has always been that those who do the work shall have a say in the formulating of ways and means for carrying on activities and conversely all willing to do a job of work, however small, shall be welcome at our frequent business meetings to put their point of view. Non-working members are not encouraged in the meetings of our sub-committee.

"This policy has resulted in a useful piece of team work on the part of about a dozen young people who between October and May last pushed up the group's sales from about three dozen to nine dozen, by street sales and personal advertisement. When street sales no longer increased, we discontinued this method and instead canvassed our customers to place regular orders and organized a delivery service. With the ban on the part of wholesalers we systematically canvassed local newsagents for their orders with comparative success. We now regularly dispose of one gross weekly and are confident of further increases in the near future.

"We feel this is a case where many hands make light work and many heads are even better than two. It is better to have ten people each delivering six copies than two delivering thirty. The measure of success we have so far experienced is, we believe, largely due to three principles to which we have closely adhered: find all willing workers a job; give them a say in affairs; work to system and encourage efficiency."

Alban Little is hopeful of securing even more regular orders, and promises to write again "when we reach the 200-mark." Such optimism is a tonic in these days, but I am sure the grounds for it exist in many parts of the country.

I have, for instance, just seen a letter from someone in the Manchester district who has become interested in the PPU through reading a copy of *Peace News*. So don't let us assume that there is nothing we can do for our cause while the fury of war is mounting. Planned effort on the lines indicated, on a nation-wide scale, may bring surprisingly good results.

What Does



* Stand For? *

A FULL summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As pressure on space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contains it (June 21) or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

The chief officers of the Union are:—
Chairman: Dr. Alex Wood; Treasurer: Maurice L. Rowntree; Secretary: Stuart D. Morris.

Following are the present Sponsors of the P.P.U.:—

Vera Brittain; George M. L. Davies; Eric Gill; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; John Middleton Murry; Max Plowman; Lord Ponsonby; Canon Charles E. Raven; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. Donald O. Soper; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Wilfred Wellock; Arthur Wragge.

For further particulars write PPU headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

Lord Ponsonby's Plea To The Government

(continued from page 2)

be an utterly impracticable military objective.

If we are going to work for the attrition of Germany through lack of material, through starvation and famine in Europe, by continuing for two or three more years, it must bring a heavy toll of casualties and suffering and death to many who are by no means our enemies. A war of attrition this time will not be like what it was in 1918, when Germany was isolated; it will be much more difficult of achievement and take very much longer. I do not believe that any high purpose in the long run can be gained by a continuation of the war for that time; and by the end of it shall we have any democracy to defend?

We had experience of the knock-out blow in the last war and public opinion still further inflamed will inevitably demand vengeance, vindictive punishment, harsh penal terms, which no Government will be able to resist; and then you will have another war in another few years.

Practical Proposal

May I submit the proposal I desire to make?

Herr Hitler should be asked to declare what his precise objects are. The appeal to reason in his last speech which he talks about, accompanied as it was by the usual recriminations and abuse, lacked any sort of precision. Our complete disregard of it has helped him, because he is able to tell his people that he offered terms of peace—which he did not.

Now simultaneously we should make a clear, explicit declaration of what our own objects are—not to dominate any peoples, but to free peoples at present dominated, and to help all, including Germany, to receive satisfaction for their legitimate national needs by peaceful means, and more especially to relieve all nations from the hideous menace of modern armaments whenever disagreement arises between them.

THE first question I am always asked when I plead for this is, What guarantee is there that Hitler's word can be relied on in any agreement which may ever be reached?

My reply to that is that, first of all, the alternative—the dictated terms to a defeated Hitler after victory—will most certainly be cast aside as soon as opportunity offers with, not the possibility, but the certainty of future war. His original object, if we interpret it fairly, was the restoration of Germany from the subjection to which the Treaty of Versailles has reduced her. He pursued this ruthlessly with an utter disregard of his own pledges, with methods of unprecedented violence, and with reliance on long-prepared military strength. He found Western Europe ready to thwart him, notably the British Empire. We declared war on him, and his object then became exclusively to defeat us. We have interpreted this as an ambition

to achieve the complete hegemony of Germany over Europe. This was natural as the war gained momentum. Herr Hitler may be a powerful and ruthless brigand, but he is not a fool. He is not, as he was once called, "a cornered maniac." That object, if ever entertained by him, would certainly not form part of any declaration he might make.

But, more generally speaking, if we mistrust the word of those with whom we wish to deal fairly—indeed whose word, even that of the framers of the Treaty of Versailles, can ever be implicitly trusted?—then we must look forward to a long era of ever-increasing armaments based on suspicion and mistrust, with the certainty of constantly recurring and devastating conflicts not only in Europe but in the world.

Careful Stocktaking

I plead that before Turkey is brought into the war and the Balkans are in a blaze, before pressure is brought on Spain to go in with Germany, before the war is extended further in Africa, before further advances of aggression are made by Japan, before famine and starvation spread over the face of Europe, careful stock of the situation ought to be made, not by speeches; and to avoid mutual recriminations, which are always certainly in the German speeches, I would respectfully suggest that these two declarations of aims should be addressed to the President of the United States.

I know it is much easier to preach a continuance of war without saying what victory means, what it will cost, and how it will be used. Undeclared as we are, would it not be wiser and higher statesmanship to deal with an enemy also undefeated, and, disregarding future prospects which both sides are claiming will be to their eventual advantage, arrange for declarations to the world of the rival claims which, as it is, must be constantly obscured by the widening circle of combat which a continuance of war must bring?

I conceive it to be a higher form of patriotism to count the cost, to look into the future, to safeguard our country from a possible ruin it will take generations to repair, rather than urge our people to continue for years this barbarous and yet utterly futile method of attempting to reconstruct an already shattered Europe by means of increased violence. I respectfully submit this to His Majesty's Government and I humbly suggest that it should not be lightly set aside.

C.O.s NOW IN JAIL

AT the beginning of September there were ten conscientious objectors serving sentences following court-martial. There were three soldier COs known to the Central Board for COs who were also serving sentences imposed by court-martial.

Of the COs detained until they voluntarily submit to medical examination, three, to the knowledge of the board, have been released without such examination.

Despite a lively debate at Swindon Town Council's meeting last week, a motion that COs in the authority's employ be given leave without pay for the duration of the war was not put to the vote because a proposal to proceed to the next business was carried with only one or two dissentients. Councillor W. R. Robins, a member of the PPU, and many Labour members were to the fore in condemning the resolution as unconstitutional and dangerous.

A resolution of the Parliamentary Committee that Corporation officers and servants, who "on registration have already declared who shall hereafter declare themselves to be conscientious objectors, must forthwith go on leave of absence, without pay, until the termination of the war," was passed without comment by Southampton Borough Council yesterday.

So reported the *Southern Daily Echo* on August 22. Several letters read at the council meeting, however, showed that the proposal had not been allowed to pass without comment by some of the townsfolk, notably clergy.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d.
Box Number 6d. extra.
Latest time for copy Tuesday morning.

PERSONAL

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST home would be very glad to "adopt" for the duration of the war child refugee of any nationality, either sex. Box 515, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOSPITALITY offered to any young or middle-aged lady in a pacifist and vegetarian home; a similar refugee would not be objected to. Mrs. Tinkler, 64 Spellow Lane, Kirkdale, Liverpool 4.

PACIFIST (Hants), 28, cycling and outdoor enthusiast, would like to meet or correspond with young lady similar views and interests. Box 516, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

STRONG man wanted, lorry driver for West Country Provender Mill, part pacifist.—Box 511, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

C.O. age 23 wants agricultural work; some experience. Box 517, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

C.O., 20, some training and experience, offers voluntary service for further training in market gardening, agriculture or forestry; Midlands preferred; urgent. Box 518, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUNG MAN, 22, C.O., seeks employment, preferably Midlands or West; anything considered; small wage. Box 519, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briers, Crich, Matlock.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 5s., double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Ter. 3572.

MISCELLANEOUS

CYCLES: Britain's best at £6 5s. carriage paid; every necessary accessory, even to cyclo-meter. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

HOLBORN & ST. PANCRAS group meet every Friday, 8 o'clock, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1. Hospitality provided for those living a distance, when inconvenient by air-raids. Attractive programme.

LONDON PPU Members' Meeting: Tuesday, September 17, 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1. Hugh Schonfield on The Quest of an International Authority.

NEW school-community, Berkshire downs: reverence for the individual; co-operation between home and school; natural methods health and soil cultivation. Alderwood House, Greenham Common, Nr. Newbury. (Hedley 209).

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

THORNDIKE-CASSON Dramatic Recital, Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, W.1. Sunday, September 15 at 8 p.m., introduced by Andrew Stewart.

TO PACIFISTS appreciating taste and comfort a room (double or single) is offered in private London home, breakfast optional; terms moderate. Box 520, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WANTED, contact with pacifist fishing crew, by fishmonger. Box 521, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUNG couple teaching small group children (age 7-12) welcome boarders £1 weekly inclusive. Modern methods. Young, B.A. (Cantab.), Hollyside, Brockweir, Cheltenham.

Two of the letters drew attention to the opposition expressed by the Archbishop of York to the victimization of COs.

In another important letter representatives of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Free Churches declared, without upholding the position of the CO as such, that it was "an English and Christian principle that a man's conscience and thought should be respected." The signatories included the Mayor's chaplain.

Hampshire County Council had previously resolved not to employ or continue to employ people unwilling to serve in the armed forces "if required by the Government to do so."

Engineers' Registration

Engineers who are conscientious objectors are advised by the Peace Pledge Union to register with their fellow-engineers, as to register with their Ministry of Labour, but to make quite clear when they do so their objection to undertaking certain forms of work.

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